



P-ISSN 2355-2794
E-ISSN 2461-0275

Clickbait and Translation: Proposing a Typology of Online News Headline Transcreation Strategies

Lilik Untari
SF. Luthfie Arguby Purnomo*
SF. Lukfianka Sanjaya Purnama
Giyoto

Study Program of English Letters, Faculty of Cultures and Languages, Universitas
Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta, Jawa Tengah 57168, INDONESIA

Abstract

Clickbait has been widely studied within the online news headline context; however, it is still understudied under the umbrella of transcreation. By employing the theory of transcreation by Gaballo (2012) and news headline tabloidization/clickbaiting presentation by Reinemann et al. (2012) on a corpus of online news headlines in a qualitative research design, we argued that news headline is transcreated for a clickbaiting purpose through the use particular linguistic features as the strategies. Those linguistic features are bombasting, referencing, and bamboozling. The first refers to the use of high-sounding or hyperbolic expressions, the second to popular references, and the last to multi-interpretable expressions. Each of the three transcreation strategies has what we call the degree of transferability. Through the degree of transferability, whether or not a translated online news headline might fall into the category of translation, transcreation, or in between could be revealed. The degrees of transferability might also reveal how bombasting, referencing, and bamboozling influence the categorization. The findings of the study could be employed as a guideline for news translation scholars and practitioners in reviewing and assessing the translation of online news headlines regarding the tendency of the tabloidization use in the clickbait context. Future studies could address the issues of the identities of news

* Corresponding author, email: theluthfie@gmail.com

Citation in APA style: Untari, L., Purnomo, S. F. L. A., Purnama, S. F. L. S., & Giyoto. (2023). Clickbait and translation: Proposing a typology of online news headline transcreation strategies. *Studies in English Language and Education*, 10(3), 1452-1466.

Received November 21, 2022; Revised March 30, 2023; Accepted August 10, 2023; Published Online September 16, 2023

<https://doi.org/10.24815/siele.v10i3.29141>

sites, news sites, and news readers as a parameter in assessing the quality of news headline translation or transcreation.

Keywords: Clickbait, headline translation, news translation, tabloidization, transcreation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Research by Orosa et al. (2017) on the front-page headlines in 28 member countries of the European Union indicates that they used clickbaits through catchy, provocative, and sensational expressions to ensure that they received the desired clicks and that the visitors spend much time on their pages. This phenomenon indicates that clickbait has become a customary tradition in an online news context with headlines as the baits for the clicks. In the perspective of news translation, this phenomenon draws interest since news translation, as what Stetting (1989) stated, a ‘transediting’ emphasizes how translation in a news context is inseparable from information selection and editing. Whether or not the headlines of online news undergo a transediting when translated for different targets is an interesting topic to discuss.

Neutral source headlines might be transedited as such to adopt catchy, provocative, and sensational expressions to drive clicks when transferred for different targets. In the perspective of the Skopos theory that emphasizes on the purposes of the translation (Reiss & Vermeer, 2014), in the context of news headline translation, this phenomenon indicates that there is a negotiation of purposes between transferring unbiased news and garnering clicks from the visitors. This negotiation is executed through a portmanteau of ‘translation’ and ‘creation’ called transcreation. In transcreation, as suggested by Gaballo (2012), creativity or *carte blanche* in conceptual, linguistic, and cultural constructs is required in the translational process in regard to fluency, flexibility, originality, and elaboration. These four concerns of transcreation as proposed by Gaballo (2012) are identical or share the same ground with clickbaits since clickbaits circumnavigate around these four concerns as well with creativity and productivity as the axis. The following example might elicit a comprehension of these four concerns:

Source text (ST):	Here are the 10 executive orders Biden signed to combat the Covid pandemic
Target text (TT):	<i>Kamehameha! Biden ‘Ngamuk’, Rilis Jurus Pamungkas Lawan Covid</i>
Back translation (BT):	Kamehameha! (referring to Toriyama’s <i>Dragon Ball</i> ’s Goku’s move) Biden Going Berserk, Releasing an Ultimate Move to Combat Covid

The TT employed transcreation by adding *kamehameha*, an iconic move from Toriyama’s ‘Dragon Ball’ comics and anime series, and hyperbolizing ‘executive order’ into ‘going berserk’ and ‘signed’ into ‘releasing an ultimate move’. This *carte blanche* reflected the use of the four concerns on transcreation. The first was fluency or the ability to generate ideas and meaningful purposes. Positioning Biden as Goku, the caster of ‘kamehameha’, showed that the translator was able to generate ideas and meaningful purposes since Biden and Goku held a key role in saving the world from certain doom. The second concern was flexibility or the ability to repurpose ideas. The ability of idea repurposing was seen from the dire gravity and impacts of Biden’s orders into the state of being berserk before engaging an enemy in combat. Third, the

originality or the capacity to produce rare and novel ideas was illustrated from the overall use of Dragon Ball's gimmick to represent Biden's action. The fourth was elaboration or the capacity to develop ideas, perceived from 'releasing an ultimate move' to 'combat covid' which was an additional message intended as a connector between *kamehameha* and the reason why it was released.

The presence of the four concerns showed that transcreation was in action—implying that the negotiation between the need to transfer stay-to-the-truth news and the need for clicks was maintained. Though the lingual expressions appeared to be sensational, the transcreation managed to transfer the source message accurately. Reinemann et al. (2012) called these sensational lingual expressions 'tabloidization'. They claimed that the effect of using tabloidizing expressions is rendering hard or serious news into soft or infotainment news. In the perspective of translation, this effect falls into the category of what Purnomo and Purnama (2019) called 'anamnesis shift', in which the branding carrying pattern of the source text shifts. This shift might occur due to different audiences. As implied by Holland (2007), different audiences have different ways of reading and interpreting news.

The studies of clickbait under the umbrella of online news headline transcreation are under researched. Previous studies about clickbaits and headline translation mull over around headlines as news translation from anomalous news translation (Valdeón, 2008), clickbaiting headlines typology and its influences (Scacco & Muddiman, 2016), significant discourse function in the news translation context (Károly, 2017), headline reproduction (Scammell, 2018), headline crowdsourcing (Potthast et al., 2018) and emotional language of clickbait (Li, 2019). This paper attempted to propose a typology of strategies in transcreating online news headlines in relation to clickbaits and the transcreation techniques induced degree of transferability. The stance we took in this study is to perceive clickbaits through a creative lens. As implied by Kanakagiri et al. (2017), though clickbaits tend to be negative, they are the products of creativity. These creative lenses are aligned with the essence of the Skopos theory that emphasizes on the objectives of the translators in translating texts from which freedom becomes one of the primary stances.

The objectives of this study encompassed the construction of news transcreation strategies in the clickbait context and the degree of transferability to reveal whether the source headlines were translated or transcreated. To achieve these objectives, the theories of transcreation by Gaballo (2012) and tabloidization by Reinemann et al. (2012) were implemented. The former was employed to indicate how fluency, flexibility, originality, and elaboration in transcreation were executed and exercised in transferring the messages accurately while creatively engaging in a clickbaiting-related endeavor. On the other hand, the latter was employed to point out how the transcreation might trigger the effects of tabloidization on the target news headlines.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Online News Headline Clickbait In The Light of Transcreation and Tabloidization

The transformation of paper-based news into e-news or digital news prompts the owners of digital news sites to strategize a plan to garner readers and revenues. One of

the commonly spotted strategies is clickbaiting. [Bazaco et al. \(2019\)](#) claimed that clickbaiting in a journalism context aims at ensuring virality that is exercised through story sensationalization and headline eye-catching-*ation*. These strategies indicate that emotive hold a key significance in baiting potential readers to snap the textual or visual lures.

In the context of news translation, the presence of the two strategies raises a question on how to translate news through clickbaiting the layer or the umbrella of the translation process. The question revolves around the translation of news headlines, which becomes the first news element that visitors click. That the translation of news headlines has to address and adhere to the clickbaiting purposes generates a consideration on whether or not the translation should be carried out in the Skopos perspective. Carrying the perspective of Skopos in translating the news headline, as implied by [Shi \(2014\)](#), pointed out the possibilities of meaning negotiation with concerns over gaining clicks and ensuring the level of accuracy. Whether the translation might lean more over meaning accuracy or clickbaiting proficiency is the focus or concern of this negotiation. From the perspective of translation as a negotiation which emphasizes on cultural negotiation ([Eco, 2013](#)), this online news headline translation discloses an understanding that what is being negotiated is online and offline cultures. These online and offline cultures of news headlines comprise different online news headline presentations, purposes, and virality. Translation needs to address these issues by negotiating accuracy and the necessity of being clicked.

The online and offline cultures of news headline negotiation in translation might lead to what [Seo \(2015\)](#) called news headline re-contextualization. Exercising this re-contextualization, clickbait-based headline news translation might be exercised through what [Reinemann et al. \(2012\)](#) called tabloidization. Through tabloidization, sensational and eye-catching headlines are possible to construct. Embedding tabloidization with translation further suggests that the translation applied to online news headlines might not be a translation in the sense of message transferring. Thereby, this click-driven and Skopos-generated translation might fit under the term transcreation since creativity is required to negotiate between the message accuracy and click garnering. That creativity, as implied by [Gaballo \(2012\)](#), becomes the defining point of transcreation, indicating an alignment with tabloidization which requires creativity to structure and construct clickable headlines.

2.2 The Creativity in Transcreating News Headlines

The creativity in transcreating news headlines faces challenges not only in the meanings of the textual aspects but also in the meanings evoked by the combination of textual and visual aspects. As studied by [Riggs \(2021\)](#), the nature of visual and textual aspects of news headlines is to translate the event being headlined. Due to the nature of function of visual and textual aspect relationships, creativity is urged when the event is transcreated. Creative decisions in translating headlines with transcreation as one of the options are in the nature of headlines. As suggested by [Orengo \(2005\)](#), headlines in the context of translation have two primary characteristics, namely a paraphrasing tool of the translated text and wide freedom for journalists. Transcreation responds comprehensively to paraphrasing and wider freedom of headline translation since transcreation emphasizes creativity in transferring the syntactic and semantic aspects of the headlines. Though creativity might end up in the impression of the

headlines as being a clickbait, as long as the news of the clickbait headlines conveys truth, the impression might lead to positive creativity than negative one.

The creativity of clickbait headlines is primarily perceived from the differences in stylistic elements of the headlines when transcreated. The differences in styles, as studied by [Kuiken et al. \(2017\)](#), statistically generate significant impacts on the performance of the headlines. This finding implies that creativity becomes the key factor in drawing potential readers in clicking the headlines. This click-and-consume objective further suggests that the functions of headlines in online news tend to shift. As studied by [Chen et al. \(2015\)](#), online headline news tends to function as a point of attraction for potential viewers. Due to the status of being a point of attraction, online news headlines require creativity that could alter the stylistic aspects of the source online news headlines for target markets.

3. METHOD

3.1 Research Design and Data

This qualitative research was delivered through a descriptive fashion. The sources of data were online news sites. The criteria in selecting the sites were international news sites which provided an Indonesian translation of the news in transcreation fashion for their headlines, news sites which translated news from other news sites in a transcreation fashion for the headlines, and news sites that transcreated news by compiling the same news from various news sites with transcreation fashion for their headlines. The data were English headlines and their Indonesian versions. The data forms mainly took verbal forms. Visual data in the form of images as part of the news were employed to signify the headlines.

The headlines taken as the data encompassed general, sports, and entertainment news. General news, as formulated by [Lehman-Wilzig and Seletzky \(2010\)](#), refers to news that requires not to be immediately or instantly reported. Sports news, as implied by [Lowes \(1997\)](#), deals with not only sports in general but also the commercial sides of sports, e.g., the life of the players and everyone plunging into sports. Entertainment news, as defined by [Petersen \(2011\)](#), revolves around structured discourse of public figures that circumnavigate around films, televisions, and recordings. These headlines were then presented as data in the forms of source texts (ST) and target texts (TT). The former refers to the English headlines and the latter to the Indonesian translation. To provide clear reading for international readers, we also applied back translation (BT), a gloss or literal translation from the Indonesian translation into English.

3.2 Data Analysis

Spradleyan analysis was applied to analyze the data. As implied by [Spradley \(2016\)](#), four phases were taken to conduct the analysis. The first phase was domain analysis. In this analysis, the tabloidization theories by [Gaballo \(2012\)](#) and [Reinemann et al. \(2012\)](#) were applied to reveal how the source online headlines were restyled in transcreation context. The focus of the analysis would be the morphosemantic elements, syntactic structures, and semantic features. The second phase, taxonomy analysis, emphasized on how to reveal the sensationalism elements of the transcreated

headlines. The sensationalism theory from [Otto et al. \(2017\)](#) was employed to address and reveal the sensationalism elements.

The next one was componential analysis. In this phase, the findings from the domain and taxonomy analyses were connected to reveal how transcreation, tabloidization, and sensationalism constructed clickbaiting journalism in the online headline news transcreation context. Clickbaiting journalism from [Bazaco et al. \(2019\)](#) was employed to reveal this construction. The last phase was cultural theme analysis. In this phase, departing from the findings of the domain, taxonomy, and componential analyses, a typology of clickbaiting-based online headline news was formulated.

4. FINDINGS

This section is divided into two. The first discusses the typology of clickbait-based online headline news transcreation strategies, and the second would discuss the transcreation techniques inducing the degree of transferability. The findings showed that the strategies were classifiable into bombasting, referencing, and bamboozling. Each strategy influenced the degree of transferability with bombasting leaning on translation, bamboozling leaning on transcreation, and referencing staying in the middle. The detailed discussion are presented in two sub-sections.

4.1 Clickbait-Based Online Headline News Transcreation Strategies

Three strategies were formulated from the findings of 40 online headline news transcreations, ranging from politics, economy, sports, and entertainment news. Those strategies were bombasting, referencing, and bamboozling. The first deals with employing high-sounding or emotive expressions, the second with adding popular or viral references, and the third with employing biased or ambiguous expressions in a mixture with hyperbolic expressions. Table 1 displays the characteristics of each strategy.

Table 1. The characteristics of clickbait-based online headline news transcreation strategies.

Tabloidization elements	Bombasting	Referencing	Bamboozling
Fancy expressions	+	+/-	+
Spoken languages	+	+	+
Onomatopoeic uses	+/-	+/-	+/-
Implication	+/-	+/-	+

Table 1 shows bombasting and bamboozling employed fancy expressions to attract the attention of potential clickers. These fancy expressions were delivered in spoken languages, which was the feature shared by the three strategies and might be expressed through the uses of onomatopoeia. Different from bombasting and referencing which might and might not use implication, bamboozling delivered the headlines in an implication fashion. All of these tabloidization elements were employed to generate ‘methexis effects’ in the form of clickbaits from potential users.

4.1.1 Bombasting

The first clickbait-based transcreation strategy and notably the most frequently used one is bombasting. In bombasting, emotive expressions are employed to draw the viewers' attention and garner clicks. In the English to Indonesian context, emotive expressions are delivered through Indonesian and English expressions widely used in everyday conversation. Emotive expressions are also generally delivered in spoken-styled words and slang. The findings on bombasting also suggest that the use of emotive words tends to be more freely used in sports and entertainment rubrics.

- (1) ST: China farm region becomes 'lingerie capital'
 TT: *Amazing! Desa Tani Cina Disulap Jadi Ibukota Pakaian Dalam*
 BT: Amazing! Farm Village in China Magically Transformed into the Capital of Underwear

The use of 'Amazing!' as an emotive exponent in the example spiced up the surprise point of the news. The use of the opposite words *desa* (village) and *ibukota* (capital), the use of poetic expression *disulap* (magically transformed), and the use of *tani* (farm) in allusive opposition to *pakaian dalam* (underwear) in tandem with 'Amazing!' strengthened the sensationalism that the transcreated online news headlines attempted to evoke. In the iconicity-conventionality scale by Kryk-Kastovsky (1997), which scales whether or not an expression is iconic or conventional, the expression 'Amazing!' tends to fall into the category of conventional due to its status as a non-onomatopoeia. When an expression is onomatopoeic, it is categorized into iconic. The following example is a transcreated online news headline:

- (2) ST: Gigi Hadid and Zayn Malik Break Up Nearly 2 Years After Rekindling Romance
 TT: *Jrengg...Gigi Hadid & Zayn Malik Dikabarkan Putus!*
 BT: (jreng is a musical onomatopoeia to indicate an opening of something surprising) Words on the Street Had It that Gigi Hadid & Zayn Malik Broke Up!

Jrengg positioned itself in an iconic scale and thus, in the perspective of clickbaiting, the addition of this onomatopoeia might have a greater degree of sensationalism from which clicks could be extensively garnered. The use of onomatopoeia as an opening expression on the news headline strengthens the entertainment nuance of the news which offers more flexibility in constructing the headlines. Based on the findings, light news like entertainment tend to exploit various interjections like *Jreng* to generate clicks from potential browsers. The use of interjections on news headlines might blur the nuance between heavy and light news, serious and trivial news, or headline news and non-headline news. The following example illustrates the statement:

- (3) ST: UPDATE 2-China Starts Baihetan hydro project, biggest since Three Gorges
 TT: *Gokil, China Mulai Operasikan PLTA Raksasa*
 BT: Insane, China Starts Operating a Gigantic Dam

The addition of *gokil* to express something crazy and out of the box eroded the message's serious informative nuance on the source news headline since *gokil* is not a written expression but a spoken one. This use of spoken expression, to some extent, deteriorated the nuance of the source text message since the transcreation evoked a chatting like-personal opinion fashion. The ethics of informativeness had deteriorated

through *gokil* since three key pieces of information (the status of being an update, the name of the hydro project, and the comparison with the other project) was lost.

4.1.2 Referencing

The second clickbait transcreation strategy for online news headlines is referencing. In referencing, popular, or viral names, terms, slangs, and events related to neologism were added onto the transcreated online news headlines. The following example illustrates referencing:

- (4) ST: Maguire warns Man Utd can 'brush aside' Liverpool humiliation and promises Response
TT: *Susah 'Move On' Setelah Dipermalukan Liverpool, Harry Maguire ajak Manchester United Bangkit*
BT: Hard To 'Move On' After Being Humiliated by Liverpool, Harry Maguire Asks Manchester United to Rise

The ST emphasized on 'brush aside' which refers to an action to ignore past events while the TT emphasized on 'move on' to indicate the importance to leave a bitter past behind and to continue to live. The phrasal phrase 'move on' is a teen talk-based slang familiar among Indonesians. The phrase is primarily associated to love-related problems, especially a condition in which a boy or a girl is dumped by their lovers. To employ 'move on' indicates that the transcreator attempted to accurately transfer the meaning behind 'brush aside' while adapting it to match with Indonesian tone. Since football news is to be consumed by teenagers, the use of 'move on' might disclose a chance for a click from teenagers. The usage of slang as seen in the example is not limited to slang which is popularly or widely used in general, but also slang which appears due to the virality of particular persons or events to which the slangs are associated.

- (5) ST: Man Utd fans want Solksjaer sacked for humiliating collapse against Liverpool
TT: *Ole Out!? Fans Manchester United Tuntut Pemecatan Ole Usai Digilas Liverpool*
BT: Ole Out!? Manchester United Fans Demand the Management to Fire Ole after being Run Over by Liverpool

'Ole Out' was a trending hashtag viral in the social media after poor performance by the Norwegian manager. This hashtag was unique in the sense that the word 'ole', besides referring to Ole Gunnar Solksjaer, the name of Manchester United's current manager, also referred to a football chant by fans which means 'bravo'. Selecting 'ole' in the perspective of virality signified how the word aimed at garnering tagging from football fans. The selection of 'out' over 'fire' was also unique in the sense that it followed the convention of hashtagging. When fans of a club voice their opinions regarding the resignation of their managers, the word 'out' tended to be selected for the hashtags. This adherence over convention pointed out that the transcreator attempted to gain and garner clicks from football fans by adding 'ole out' which was used in reference to #oleout.

4.1.3 Bamboozling

The third clickbait transcreation-based strategy for online news headlines is bamboozling. This strategy deals with online news headline transcreation which

creates ambiguity through biased and hyperbolic expressions, for example:. The following example illustrates bamboozling:

- (6) ST: Gone in 28 Seconds: De Ligt Disaster Condemns Netherlands to Shock Euro 2020 Exit
 TT: *Masa Gitu Saja Tak Bisa, Belanda?*
 BT: Oh, come on, Netherland

The ST's sub title was a reference to the Nicholas Cage starred car theft film *Gone in 60 Seconds*. This was narratively aligned with what the Oranje experienced. Their chance of winning was depleted once De Ligt, the defender, made a fatal mistake—touched the ball to prevent Czech from sacking a goal. It all happened just in 28 seconds from the kick off—just like Nicholas Cage and his gang who could steal a car only in 60 seconds. Though the headline writer fancied the title with a reference to the film, the content was unbiased. It still highlighted the disastrous defeat of the Netherlands due to De Ligt's fault. When the headline was translated into Indonesian, the information about the defeat and the cause of the defeat were not explicitly stated—they were implied. This implicitation through the slang *masa begitu saja tak bisa*, which is commonly used to express disappointment over not meeting an expectation, biases the information. All preserved was the fancy way of delivering the news. The use of an implied meaning-based sentence to deliver the intended meaning might also result from the source headline which was implicitly delivered and from the established meaning of particular phrases or clauses.

- (7) ST: Threats other than Covid are getting more real, there are lots of naked people in Israel
 TT: *Ada Ancaman Mengerikan, Orang Ramai-Ramai Bugil di Israel*
 BT: Grievous Threat, People Undress Themselves in Israel

The ST already indicates the use of implication in delivering the headline with assumption making as the purpose. The assumption built was that due to a threat more threatening than Covid, Israelis undressed themselves. This assumption was delivered in the TT; however, the use of *ramai-ramai* which means 'doing something together as a response implied that Israelis had a collective understanding about the threat, and as response consequence, they undressed themselves together. This implication was nonexistent in the ST, which implied that the already-biased information became more biased when translated.

4.1.4 Degree of Transferability

Translation and transcreation are two bipolarly opposing forces with the former being in the focus of transferring messages in a non-rewriting fashion and the latter being the opposite. The three proposed strategies trigger a significant influence over whether particular strategies fall into translation or transcreation. We call this issue 'the degree of transferability'. In the context of online headline news, revealing a degree of transferability might help indicate whether online headline news is a translation or a transcreation. Figure 1 illustrates the degree of transferability.

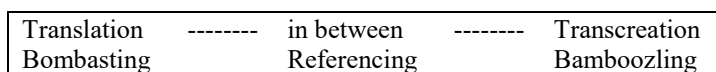


Figure 1. The degree of transferability.

As illustrated in Figure 1, bombasting tends to generate transferability in the fashion of a translation, bamboozling in the fashion of transcreation, and referencing in the middle of translation and transcreation or in possible tendencies for both. Bombasting, though embellishing the target headline with fancy words and tabloidization, is likely to stay faithful to the core messages of the source texts. Thus, we can say that bombasting, if applied, might still preserve the translational aspects in the transcreation context. In the trustworthiness or accuracy perspectives, the headlines delivered from bombasting might still preserve a high degree of accuracy. The following example illustrates the use of bombasting that still preserves the source messages though fancy tabloidizing expressions are applied.

- (8) ST: Cryptocurrency ether hits all time high of \$4,400
TT: *Cuan! Harga Ether Cetak Rekor Tertinggi, Tembus Rp. 62,5 Juta*
BT: Jackpot! Ether's Price Breaks the Highest Price Record, Reaching \$4,400

The example indicates that the use of *cuan* or 'jackpot' was employed to pump up the intensity of the message. Though the intensifier was not present on the source text, it preserved the core message of the source text without eroding the message itself. That \$4,400 was translated into Rp. 62,5 million in Indonesian currency—*rupiah*—pointing out that the translator attempted to keep the headline informative for the target readers.

Different from bombasting, bamboozling tends to generate a transcreated headline if implemented. This is possible due to the nature of bamboozling which triggers ambiguity in the message transferred. The presence of message ambiguity in the example indicates that the headlines were potentially vulnerable for confusion by the target readers. Thus, the trustworthiness of the message transfer and the accuracy of the message might be unreliable.

- (9) ST: The target of marriage at the age of 40, Shin Hyun Bin the target of Yoo Yeon Seok?
TT: *Yoo Yeon Seok Kondangan Bareng Shin Hyun Bin, Pacaran?*
BT: Yoo Yeon Seok Comes to a Wedding Party with Shin Hyun Bin, Dating?

Kondangan is a sacred Javanese feast occasionally performed to celebrate or commemorate particularly significant events like birthday, marriage, or death. The word was employed by Indonesian in a slang fashion—distorting its sacred nuance—to refer primarily to a wedding party. The use of this tabloidizing word hinted the assumed relationship between Yoo Yeon Seok and Shin Hyun Bin, and the fact that *kondangan* was employed as the verb of the headline led target readers to assume that the two celebrities had a romantic relationship. This was distortive in information since the source text focused on the target marriage age of Yoo Yeon Seok, not the wedding party they attended. The shift from the target marriage age to *kondangan* appeared to fall into transcreation since the focus of the message seemed different.

Meanwhile, what stands between translation and transcreation is referencing. Employing referencing in transferring the messages of the headlines might end up having the message being translational or transcreational. This condition is triggered by the fact that the references used might tend to be bombasting or bamboozling. The following comprehends the statement.

(10) ST: BTS Receives Three Nominations for 2021 American Music Awards Including Artist of the Year

TT: *Daebak! BTS Masuk 3 Nominasi di American Music Awards 2021!*

BT: Awesome (in Korean expression)! BTS Gets 3 Nominations in American Music Awards 2021!

Daebak is a popular Korean expression which gains lingual popularity outside Korea due the Korean wave of popular cultures. Those who are fans of Korean Pop (K-Pop) and Korean Drama tend to employ this expression to articulate their admiration toward a certain thing. The cultural lexical reference tends to be used on the similar fashion of bombasting where fancy tabloidizing expressions are employed to flavor and intensify the messages. In example (10), the use of this reference did not distort the message of the headline news since the focus of BTS receiving three nominations at American Music Awards 2021 was not lost. Though the message was not lost, the addition of *daebak* seemed to personalize the headline—leaving an impression that the translator might be a fan of BTS. The addition also pointed out that the translator attempted to align and synchronize the headlines with the entertainment rubric where the news appeared.

5. DISCUSSION

Translation, due to its Skopos nature (Reiss & Vermeer, 2014), might be treated based on the purposes of the translations, translators, clients, or policies. Therefore, implementing tabloidization as the fashion of translating a text might not be a negative decision since it might be driven by the Skopos of one of the four driving forces. Furthermore, when a news section like sports and entertainment is conventionally tabloidized, the use of bombasting, referencing, and bamboozling might be appropriate. Through the use of one or more of the strategies, from which transcreation appears, the conventional nature of the tabloid might be preserved. Thus, the *stimmung*, continuum mood (Gumbrecht, 2012), might not suffer from shift.

Transcreation can generate problems when the source news section is free of tabloidization like international news. Yet, when the news site's identity has the nature of tabloidization, transcreation might be acceptable. This identity to some extent is also reflected through the segment of the target readers. There are what Mullainathan and Shleifer (2005) called 'average readers' who read from one news source, and 'hypothetical readers' who read from multiple sources. If the consideration is that hypothetical readers might read the news from a particular news site, it implies that the identity of being a trustworthy news site is constructed. If this identity is constructed, the news site is likely to avoid the use of transcreation since it might be deemed to reduce the quality of news accuracy. Thus, clickbait might not evoke from the news sites which adopt this identity.

Translation and transcreation, departing from what is explained in the first and second paragraphs, are significantly influenced by the Skopos theory. In the context of click bait, we can comprehend that the convention and nature of news sections and segments from which identities are constructed might also be considered as the Skopos to decide whether translation or transcreation might be appropriately implemented. Thus, in assessing whether or not the message transfer is accurate and acceptable in the context of translation and transcreation, translation quality assessment has to

address the issues of the Skopos of the translating or transcreating process. In the study of news headline translation by Shi (2014), for example, the Skopos theory is implemented to generate four criteria to ensure that the translation of news headlines is quality-assured, namely fidelity, readability, adaptability, and rapidity. The presence of readability highlighting the necessity to raise the target reader's interests, adaptability emphasizing on adhering to the target readers, and rapidity focusing on the chrono-spatial dynamics of news headlines indicate how Skopos influences the quality assessment of particular translated or transcreated texts. The same-style paradigm of localization quality assessment as proposed by Wulandari (2021) and ludic adaptation by Purnomo et al. (2021) could be employed as a basis for the construction of the news translation quality assessment for future related studies.

6. CONCLUSION

Clickbaiting, viewed from the perspective of Skopos, might be one of the purposes of translation. The purpose of gaining and garnering clicks from potential visitors leads to the emergence of transcreation. Three strategies are commonly employed in dealing with this transcreation Skopos in the clickbaiting context. They are bombasting, referencing, and bamboozling. The implementation of high-sounding or hyperbolic expressions delivered through emotive expressions is the feature of the first. The second strategy, referencing, relies on the implementation of popular or viral names, terms, slang, and events related to neologism. The third strategy shares hyperbolic attributes as the first with the difference being on the function of the hyperbolic expressions as a confusion and bias inducer. These three strategies are applied to arouse the attention and attract clicks from potential visitors.

Bombasting, referencing, and bamboozling generate a degree of transferability. This degree deals with how each strategy might have a tendency to make the message transfers from source to target headlines fall into the category of translation or transcreation. The use of bombasting tends to label the transferability into translation, referencing into in-between translation and transcreation, and bamboozling into transcreation. Though bombasting generally falls into the category of translation, it does not mean that it is free of transcreation attributes. The same concern also applies for bamboozling which commonly generates transcreation.

This study did not address quality assessment as the limitation and thus, news translation quality assessment in transcreation context might be taken as a concern for future studies. In doing so, the degree of transferability might be employed by news translators or news translation scholars as an alternative parameter for news headline translation quality assessment. Concerns about the identities of news sites, news sections, and news readers can also be considered to complete the translation quality assessment. Future research could address this potential issue by addressing the elements of localization and ludicity of news translation in the context of transcreation.

REFERENCES

- Bazaco, Á., Redondo, M., & Sánchez-García, P. (2019). Clickbait as a strategy of viral journalism: Conceptualisation and methods. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 74, 94-115.
- Chen, Y., Conroy, N. K., & Rubin, V. L. (2015). News in an online world: The need for an “automatic crap detector”. *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 52(1), 1-4. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pa2.2015.145052010081>
- Eco, U. (2013). *Mouse or rat? Translation as negotiation*. Hachette.
- Gaballo, V. (2012). Exploring the boundaries of transcreation in specialized translation. *ESP Across Cultures*, 9, 95-113.
- Gumbrecht, H. U. (2012). *Atmosphere, mood, stimmung: On a hidden potential of literature*. Stanford University Press.
- Holland, R. (2007). Language(s) in the global news: Translation, audience design and discourse (mis)representation. *Target-International Journal of Translation Studies*, 18(2), 229-259. <https://doi.org/10.1075/target.18.2.03hol>
- Kanakagiri, T., Manjesh, S., Vaishak, P., Chettiar, V., & Shobha, G. (2017). Clickbait pattern detection and classification of news headlines using natural language processing. *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Computational Systems and Information Technology for Sustainable Solutions (CSITSS-2017)* (pp. 153-158). Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, Inc.
- Károly, K. (2017). *Aspects of cohesion and coherence in translation: The case of Hungarian-English news translation* (Vol. 134). John Benjamins Publishing Company. <https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.134>
- Kryk-Kastovsky, B. (1997). Surprise, surprise: The iconicity-conventionality scale of emotions. In S. Niemeier & R. Dirven (Eds.), *The language of emotions: Conceptualization, expression, and theoretical foundation* (pp. 155-172). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Kuiken, J., Schuth, A., Spitters, M., & Marx, M. (2017). Effective headlines of newspaper articles in a digital environment. *Digital Journalism*, 5(10), 1300-1314. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1279978>
- Lehman-Wilzig, S. N., & Seletzky, M. (2010). Hard news, soft news, ‘general’ news: The necessity and utility of an intermediate classification. *Journalism*, 11(1), 37-56. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884909350642>
- Li, Q. (2019). *Clickbait and emotional language in fake news* [Preprint master’s thesis]. UT iSchool. <https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~ml/papers/li2019-thesis.pdf>
- Lowes, M. D. (1997). Sports page: A case study in the manufacture of sports news for the daily press. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 14(2), 143-159. <https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.14.2.143>
- Mullainathan, S., & Shleifer, A. (2005). The market for news. *The American Economic Review*, 95(4), 1031-1053. <https://doi.org/10.1257/0002828054825619>
- Orengo, A. (2005). Localising news: Translation and the ‘global-national’ dichotomy. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 5(2), 168-187. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14708470508668892>

- Orosa, B. G., Santorum, S. G., & García, X. L. (2017). Use of clickbait in the online news media of the 28 EU member countries. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 72, 1261-1277. <http://hdl.handle.net/10347/17486>
- Otto, L., Glogger, I., & Boukes, M. (2017). The softening of journalistic political communication: A comprehensive framework model of sensationalism, soft news, infotainment, and tabloidization. *Communication Theory*, 27(2), 136-155. <https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12102>
- Petersen, A. H. (2011). *The gossip industry: producing and distributing star images, celebrity gossip and entertainment news 1910-2010* [Doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin]. The University of Texas at Austin Repositories. <http://hdl.handle.net/2152/11454>
- Potthast, M., Gollub, T., Hagen, M., & Stein, B. (2018, December 27). *The clickbait challenge 2017: Towards a regression model for clickbait strength*. ArXiv. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.1812.10847>
- Purnomo, L. A., & Purnama, L. S. (2019). Shapeshifting: Proposing diegesis based translation strategies for video game translation, the shifts they generate, and the distortion they trigger. In S. F. L. A. Purnomo (Ed.), *Studies on shift: Game localization and subtitling* (pp. 1-36). CV Gerbang Media Aksara.
- Purnomo, S. L. A., Untari, L., Purnama, L. S., Asiyah, N., Umam, R. K., Sartika, Y., & Inderasari, E. (2021). Ludic adaptation: Can we babyfy, chibify, bambify, or cherubify a literary text for younger audiences? *GEMA Online Journal of Language Studies*, 21(1), 89-109. <http://doi.org/10.17576/gema-2021-2101-06>
- Reinemann, C., Stanyer, J., & Legnante, G. (2012). Hard and soft news: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings. *Journalism*, 13(2), 221-239. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911427803>
- Reiss, K., & Vermeer, H. J. (2014). *Towards a general theory of translational action: Skopos theory explained*. Routledge.
- Riggs, A. (2021). How online news headlines and accompanying images ‘translate’ a violent event: A cross-cultural case study. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 21(3), 352-365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2020.1870486>
- Scacco, J., & Muddiman, A. (2016, August 9). *Investigating the influence of “clickbait” news headlines*. mediaengagement.org. <https://mediaengagement.org/research/clickbait-headlines/>
- Scammell, C. (2018). *Translation strategies in global news: What Sarkozy said in the suburbs*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Seo, S.-A. (2015). A critical discourse analysis of recontextualization in the news headline translation. *The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korea*, 23(2), 97-129. <https://doi.org/10.14353/sjk.2015.23.2.02>
- Shi, X. (2014). English-Chinese news headlines translation from a Skopostheorie perspective. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 4(9), 1881-1885. <https://doi.org/10.4304/tpls.4.9.1881-1885>
- Spradley, J. P. (2016). *Participant observation*. Waveland Press, Inc.
- Stetting, K. (1989). Transediting—A new term for coping with the grey area between editing and translating. In J. E. Nielsen, A. L. Jakobsen, K. Haastrup, G. Caie, J. Sevaldsen, H. Specht & A. Zettersten (Eds.), *Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Conference for English Studies* (pp. 371-382). University of Copenhagen.

- Valdeón, R. A. (2008). Anomalous news translation: Selective appropriation of themes and texts in the internet. *Babel*, 54(4), 299-326. <https://doi.org/10.1075/babel.54.4.01val>
- Wulandari, W. (2021). Proposing localization quality assessment for television series and printed comics series in regard to the localization element similarities. *CrossOver: Journal of Adaptation Studies*, 1(2), 73-93. <https://doi.org/10.22515/crossover.v1i2.4160>